UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

The Quest of the Impossible

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

"Two World Civilizers"

By D. RUDHYAR

The Savage in Politics

By D. JOBMAN

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVII MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1926 NUMBER 3

A MORNING WISH

The sun is just rising on the morning of another day. What can I wish that this day may bring to me? Nothing that shall make the world or others poorer, nothing at the expense of other men, but just those few things which in their coming do not stop with me but touch me rather, as they pass and gather strength.

A few friends, who understand me, and yet remain my friends.

A work to do which has real value, without which the world would feel the poorer.

A return for such work small enough not to tax anyone who pays.

A mind unafraid to travel, even though the trail be not blazed.

An understanding heart.

A sight of the eternal hills, and the unresting sea, and of something beautiful which the hand of man has made.

A sense of humor, and the power to laugh. A little leisure with nothing to do.

A few moments of quiet, silent meditation. The sense of the presence of God.

And the patience to wait for the coming of these things, with the wisdom to know them when they come, and the wit not to change this morning of mine.

—*Walter Reid Hunt.*

Those who are familiar with Gandhi's writings, and who read from week to week his paper called *Young India,* are likely to forget how little his message is known in any direct way to the western world. Contrast the Mahatma's position in this regard with that of Count Tolstoy. Every word that the great Russian spoke or wrote was telegraphed abroad and appeared in every newspaper in Europe and America. It might be a short story, or an address to the Tsar, or a letter to a friend, or an interview with a visitor—it was all the same! Here was front-page copy everywhere. To such a position of publicity Gandhi has not yet attained, and probably never will. In the first place, India is too remote. It exists outside the world in which the overwhelming majority of us westerners live. In the same way and to the same degree, the Mahatma is himself remote. He is an Oriental, and thus as unrecognizable as Jesus, had not the Nazarene been "westernized" beyond all recognition of those who really knew him. Again, the English influence, so potent in its control of the news channels of the world, is careful to see that the words of Gandhi do not travel very far. The result is that the Mahatma is still little more than a name even to those who would know him best. The publication of Gandhi's book, "Young India," did something to spread information; but in this huge encyclopedic volume the wood was pretty successfully hidden by the trees. Rolland's biography was of course illuminating in the extreme, but it was none the less sketchy and second-hand. What is needed is the man himself, in direct and simple statement, and this at last we have in the autobiography, "The Story of My Experiments With Truth," which is to begin publication in these columns on April 5th next. We commend this to our readers as a document of inestimable importance in the life of the greatest man in the world today.

It is certainly most embarrassing to friends and advocates of the League of Nations, and tragic in the eyes of all who hope the best for the more or less faulty undertakings of men, to see the trouble which has broken upon Geneva with the advent of Germany. This advent, as we have already said frankly in these columns, is the most fortunate thing that has happened to the League since Versailles. It has done more to answer those who have criticized the League, more to strengthen that organization for the real work it has to do in the world, than everything else that has transpired. Yet it is just at this moment of favorable augury, that the disgusting fight breaks out over permanent seats in the Council, to confirm once again all the doubts of all the doubters which have been since the beginning of the Covenant. For what does this fight mean if not that it is clearly understood by those who are closest to the real facts in the situation that the League of Nations exists, as it has existed from the start, not to maintain peace throughout the world, but to maintain the balance of power among the nations of Europe? This is what the skeptics have always said. The Versailles Treaty destroyed the Central Powers and put the Allies in the seats of the mighty. The League was established to execute the Treaty, and thus to serve as the machinery for the administration of Europe in the Allied interest. Of course as always happens in such cases, the victors fell out over the question of spoils, and the League has thus had to take on the added function of serving as a balance wheel between the contending forces of England and France. Now Germany comes along, thanks to Locarno, and threatens to upset the apple cart. With the result that there is a clamorous call for a reorganization of the Council, the admission of new members to permanent seats, and all the rest. It is a sordid struggle which revives every doubt we have ever cher-

ished of the reality of the League as an agency for peace.

It's amusing to note the dilemma which is presented to Europe and America by Soviet Russia. The western nations are of course just as hostile to the communist republic today as they were at the beginning. If they could destroy Moscow, they would do so with as little compunction as a man places his foot upon a snake. France and England have recognized Russia because of the sheer necessities of the situation, but they would gladly withdraw this recognition, and there are ugly rumors abroad that they may try to do so. Russia, in other words, is still a pariah, and her return to the family of nations on a basis of full confidence and goodwill seems still far removed into the future. On the other hand, Russia cannot be safely banished. As a military menace she is perhaps more serious than any other present-day power. There can be no disarmament until Russia disarms in concert with her rivals—which is one reason, by the way, that the projected European disarmament conference seems to make something less than no progress at all. Then, what is worse, if the Soviets are permanently locked out of Europe, they are certain to turn to Asia. Indeed, have they not already done so, and achieved results—in China, for example—that are positively terrifying? Let present hostilities continue, and Russia is certain to seek her destiny in the far East, and eventually mobilize and lead that swarming portion of the world against the West. Hence the dilemma, which is keeping more European chancellories awake o' nights than any other one question upon the diplomatic horizon! How it will all come out, no man can say. But one thing is perfectly evident and that is that a new force came into the world with the Russian Revolution of 1917, just as a similar new force came into the world with the French Revolution of 1789. And in this latter case; exactly as in the former, this new force is going to mould the future. Europe cannot destroy Russia, banish Russia, or live with Russia. She can only be remade by her, and thus from the old rebuild the structure of the new.

An investigator has been questioning the governors of southern states on the alleged nullification of the 14th and 15th Amendments in their respective commonwealths. Without exception these governors deny the allegation and, to quote the immortal Mrs. Malaprop, "defy the alligator.' And they seem to be justified in so doing, for who can refute the statements which these honorable gentlemen present? Thus Governor McRae, of Arkansas, asservates that in his state "Negroes (have the right to) vote in the general elections. It is true," he continued, "that not many of them assert the right, but they can do it." Undoubtedly! But what would happen to them if they did? Governor Parker of Louisiana, describes much the same situation in his state. The Negroes, he declares, "disfranchise themselves." You bet they do! Negroes are exactly as wise as whites in recognizing what in a given circumstance is good and healthy for them. Governor Fields, of Kentucky, brings the same charge against the Negroes as Governor Parker. "Disfranchisement of the Negroes in Kentucky," he says, "is self-imposed." Exactly! "Self-imposed" in the same way that enlistments in the war "to make the world safe for democracy" were self-imposed after the passage of the Conscription Act which President Wilson so beautifully said was "in no sense a conscription of the unwilling." Governor Walker, of Georgia, puts on a brave front. "If they (the Negroes) comply with the laws," says he, "they can vote as safely as I can." Of course! But ask a Georgia Negro what chance there is of his complying with the law, when his right to vote is in question. Governor Whitfield, of Mississippi, tells the same story. "The non-voting Negroes," he declares, "are disfranchised by failure to comply with the laws of the state, which require that those offering to vote must read and write, and understand the Constitution." Sure! Always an easy test for whites, but for Negroes a job that would disfranchise an Einstein! Only Governor Peat of Tennessee, has a clean slate. The Negroes "do vote," he says, "in as high a ratio of population as the whites." Which gives the sovereign State of Tennessee the lowest voting rate of any state in the Union! These governors give us valuable testimony. They are to be thanked. Now we know that, as usual, the Negro is himself to blame for everything that happens to him.

"Most men," says Anatole France, "need some ornament to appear important." This is an excellent example of the great Frenchman's sardonic humor, grim and terrible because so true! Ornaments as a device of personal importance carry us back, of course, to the days of early savagery, when mighty chiefs arrayed themselves in feathers, animals' teeth, shells, rings and trinkets, robes, etc., to show how great they were. This primitive practice has survived most amusingly among our military men, whose gorgeous trappings still persist into this modern age of khaki. We sometimes think that the showy uniforms, the swords and belts, the medals and decorations proudly spread out on swelling chests, are simply a rather pathetic attempt to disguise the essential horror of the soldier's trade. But this is incidental to the real motive, which is that of a search for importance through ornamentation. Our generals and admirals, hopelessly mediocre men, most of them, would be lost completely if they had not this handy means of blazoning forth their greatness. What is true of military men is true in varying degrees of other men. Our political executives—presidents, governors and the like

—arrayed in solemn civic black, seek compensation by surrounding themselves with aides, so-called, who wear enough gold braid to sink a ship. Our judges hide their commonplaceness in gorgeous silken robes, our scholars burden their shoulders with hoods of rainbow hue, our bishops and higher clergy generally display a splendor of official raiment which would amaze the Nazarene. Now and then, to be sure, there come sincere and courageous men who insist upon reality, and thus reduce—or elevate!—human nature to its own essential inner worth. The Quakers are supreme exemplars of this sheer reliance upon the spirit—neither in churches nor homes nor costumes will they tolerate anything which tends to give the air of an importance which does not exist in and of itself! The Bolsheviki in Russia, with their highest officials dressed in simple peasant smock or workmen's shirt, do the same thing. But the majority of men, probably for ages to come, will seek to "appear important" through the use of "ornament!"

Augustus Thomas, the well-known American dramatist, is a "wet." He has written a play, called "Still Waters," to express his contempt for the Eighteenth Amentment and the Volstead Act, and has put it on the boards as a piece of propaganda for the anti-Prohibition cause. Wayne B. Wheeler, counsel for the Anti-Saloon League, is reported to be protesting against this play and calling for its suppression. Such action by the "dry" champion, if it is correctly reported, is both impudent and foolish—unless, forsooth, he is denouncing the play as a bad play, in which case his plea is based on artistic and not on moral grounds. For the use of the theatre for propaganda purposes is coincident with the history of the drama from Aristophanes to Bernard Shaw. We all of us like it when it is done in *our* interest; we deplore it only when it is done in the interest of our opponents. But it is always legitimate. It is usually achieved, however, at the expense of art, though genius can use propaganda as triumphantly as any other material for artistic purposes, as witness Ibsen's "A Doll's House," Charles Rann Kennedy's "The Servant in the House," and Shaw's "St. Joan." In such cases the theatre becomes a most potent weapon of revolt. So let "Still Waters" flow! We are ardent in our "dry" sentiments, but we are willing to have as many "wet" plays on the boards as the managers may be willing to pay for. Prohibition is too good a cause to be injured by such attacks. Years ago we saw Hoyt's "A Temperance Town," as "wet" a play as ever was produced, aimed straight at the prohibition cause, and more popular than any play that Mr. Thomas has written, or ever will write. For all its success, however, Hoyt's drama did not halt prohibition by so much as a tenth of a second in its steady march to victory. We shall see "Still Waters" if it ever comes to our town, and live in hope that the play, as a play, is as good as its title.

The Quest of the Impossible

The more we learn of the nature of man and of the universe which gives him lodging, the more evident it becomes that man's business on this planet, his part as an actor in the scheme of things, is *difficult*—easy, no doubt, in many a detail, but difficult in the grand outlines and issues, easy in many an interlude, but difficult in the main plot of the drama and in the concatenation of the acts, of which the last is death. . . . The words of Cromwell, written on the day before the battle of Dunbar, when he was hemmed in by superior forces and in a precarious position, might be taken as a motto for human life in general, for the whole business of man on this planet —'We are upon an engagement very difficult.' . . . He will never accommodate himself to an easy life, unless we are to assume that his nature has degenerated in the meantime. Ill adapted for living an easy life, he is well adapted for living a difficult one. It is precisely when his circumstances are easiest that he gives the poorest account of himself, and the best when he is fighting against odds.

To an America sodden with prosperity, and particularly to the unfortunate prosperous young men and women of this fat land, these stirring words of Mr. Jacks, uttered in his Hibbert lectures of 1924, present a searching question. Never were the circumstances of life easier than those of well-to-do Americans today, never was living more comfortable, never was the necessity of strenuous personal endeavor less insistent. As a result, everywhere we see indications of that damnation of the easy of which Mr. Jacks warns us, everywhere we see men, capable of great things, yet giving the poorest possible account of themselves. A generation brought up in automobiles loses the use of its legs; healthy young people devote themselves to tea-dancing while the purple tops of unscaled mountains beckon them in vain. Reared in ease and comfort, we are well content to enjoy warm houses and good food, to look on at the spectacle of the movies or the more sophisticated one of the opera, or best of all, to loll on the sofa, after getting New York on the air, and listen indifferently as the case may be to the Fifth Symphony or the latest jazz tune. Our art and literature, become critical rather than creative, instead of feeding the soul degenerate into aestheticism. Our scholarship becomes a conscientious and uninspired piling up of facts, duly recognized by tame university authorities with professorships and honorary degrees; our chemists study poison gas with no less enthusiasm than nitrogen-fixing bacteria; our economists forsake the contemplation of social righteousness for the investigation of the laws of business success. Our whole life comes to move within the orbit of the possible, the immediate, the evident, the easy—and the damned. Timidity, convention, and finally plain cowardice come

to replace bold speculation, fearless action, courageous experimentation and hardy pioneering. In this year of grace 1926 we find ourselves a part of an unspeakably humiliating spectacle—a nation of a hundred and ten million people, rich and powerful beyond all relief, supinely accepting, comfortably approving, and even fatuously applauding the inconceivable futilities, the shifting and cowardly evasions, the irresolution, insincerity, pusillanimity and cowardice that mark the present national administration of both our domestic and our international affairs. To play safe appears to have become our highest felicity. In the name of God, what do Americans fear, that we are sunk so low? Truly, it is precisely when man's circumstances are easiest that he gives the poorest account of himself.

Where then are we prosperous Americans to find that splendid hardihood, that magnificent adventure, that greatness of spirit which Mr. Jacks celebrates as the peculiar glory of man? No longer in the struggle with the wilderness; for our wilderness is conquered. No longer in war; for the splendors of knighthood have been exchanged for the uninspiring machine-made efficiency of mass slaughter in accordance with the formulas of applied mathematics. Not in sport and exploration; for sport is only play, and the adventure of exploration but for the chosen few. How then shall we Americans, menaced by our prosperity, threatened with the relaxation and degeneration of the easy, sodden with comfort—how shall we save our souls alive, how bring back the heroic into our lives? Faced with the possibility of forgetting our real selves amid the temptations of ease and power and prosperity, we confront a task infinitely more difficult than that of the pioneers who made America out of a wilderness.

Let Mr. Jacks once more answer our question: "The Challenge of Life to our generation is primarily for *group action on the heroic level.*" If we pierce down for a moment below our superficially easy circumstances, we find ourselves faced with a group of social impossibilities which make the tasks of ancient heroes look like child's play. We have just come through, without settling, a six-months' coal strike, the visible manifestation only of an insoluble economic problem—and it is but one of a dozen. Every day we stand face to face with the evidences of an ugly, uncomprehending and utterly hateful race prejudice, in whose grip we are helpless. The task of international organization we face like bewildered children, while the diplomats fence, and the general staffs lay plans, and the technicians in their laboratories devise new explosives and lethal gases. Impossibilities? Such as men never faced before. An easy life? Only to men blind and besotted. Rather, a life that demands such heroism, such self-forgetfulness, such devotion, faith and courage as show man in very truth a son of God.

What then can we individually do in this world of impossibilities? On every man is laid a heroic task, not an easy one. Amid the temptations to ease, we must find, to begin with, in our own hearts, the eager desire for the impossible. As Anatole France has said

> Let us seek peace with all our hearts. Desire it, for desire is the creative force, the only creative force in the universe.

But the creative force of desire is only the beginning of heroism. To that we must add an invincible faith in the impossible, an indomitable will to achieve it. Still standing in the shadow of the Great War, the dreamers of our generation look out across the wreck of all their hopes, and the fire of faith burns low as they witness the triumph of the forces of fear and suspicion and greed and ignorance and hate. But let them not despair. Rather let them summon the witness of the spirit to the reality of their dreams, to the truth of the impossible, to the success of every high failure. Let them remember that the vision is in some part the victory and the will is the triumph. And when the storm clouds lower blackest and threaten with destruction their little craft with its precious cargo of all the hopes that make human life worth while, let them rise trimphant in spirit and nail defiantly to the masthead those dauntless words of Emerson's:

> O friend, never strike sail to a fear!
> Come into port greatly, or sail with God the seas.

The hero of today, however, must go even beyond desire and faith and courage, indispensable though they may be. On him is laid the unending task of patient, intelligent, ceaseless and undiscouraged work for the impossibilities by which he lives. There is no shortcut to social salvation. It is not to be won by a dashing guerrilla campaign. It is no matter of mere inspiration and pious hopes and fatuous enthusiasms and beliefs. The dream can be wrought into the stern stuff of reality only by the ceaseless toil of the dreamer, only by the painfully acquired knowledge of ways and means which comes not without sturdy intellectual effort, only by that long process of teaching and learning, line upon line and precept upon precept, by which men slowly make their way up from the level of their brute friends. Only because such divine tasks are laid upon us are we in any sense more than they. Who then is for the modern hero's task? Let him count well the cost. Let him gird on the armor for an unending combat, knowing full well that he will die baffled and defeated, but knowing, too, that the very battle itself is in the deepest sense the victory, and that at each defeat he leaves the standard planted a little farther forward. Let him know, too, that his task is not likely to be a glorious one, but rather a life of grueling labor, whose results, if such there be, he will not see. And when he has made his choice, let him pray the hero's prayer, "Grant us courage and gaiety and the quiet mind."

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY.

Jottings

UNITY fell down thrice in its issue of February 22nd last in printing the word "Negro" with a small letter. There is of course as little reason for printing "Negro" with a small letter as for printing "Caucasian," or "Mongolian" or "Semite" with a small letter. The habit is only a part of our traditional American prejudices; but it is a bad habit, of which UNITY would not be guilty.

The "sniper," who terrorized Omaha for a week or more, was practicing his talent at the wrong time and place. He ought to have been a sharp-shooter in the war. Then he would have been decorated with medals and hailed as a great American hero.

"Follies Girl Beats Maid of Orleans at Miami" ran the newspaper headline over the racing page. A significant sentence! The Follies girl beats the Maid of Orleans type every time these days in wider fields of life than those of a race track in Florida. America's raptures over Ziegfeld's beauties, Mack Sennett bathing girls, etc., have a meaning all their own.

Europe is normal again! A returning traveler reports to the newspapers that there is serious danger of war in the Balkans.

India has lost one of her noblest sons in the death of Dwiyendranath Tagore, elder brother of the great poet, Rabindranath. He lived a life of retirement, yet maintained constant touch with Mahatma Gandhi. Of him it was said:

"He is a great philosopher. The squirrels come from the boughs and climb onto his knees, and the birds alight upon his hand."

We are constantly running up against surprises. Here is a book-reviewer, for example, who refers to "The *charm* Mussolini's figure has had for the decade in which we are now living." We should as soon think of attributing "charm" to a hyena as to the Italian dictator.

J. H. H.

"Two World-Civilizers"

Thomas Paine and M. K. Gandhi

[Note: This interesting and suggestive article, written by a Frenchman, is most timely at this moment when we are celebrating the 150th anniversary of Thomas Paine's great work for American independence, and preparing for the publication in America of Gandhi's autobiography. We would not agree with all that our author says, but his article is one of the most acute and original that we have ever seen. It is constructive criticism of a high order.—Editor.]

"The world is my country; to do good is my religion."

"The most formidable weapon against errors of every kind is Reason. I have never used any other, and I trust I never shall. . . . My own mind is my church."

"The law of complete love is the law of my being."

—*Paine.*

"Our object is friendship with the whole world. Non-violence has come to men and it will remain. It is the annunciation of peace on earth."

—*Ghandi.*

A parallel between Paine and Gandhi presents features of considerable interest and may reveal a deeply symbolical meaning to the philosophically inclined mind. Let us indicate merely a few of the most characteristic correspondences and show how the messages of the two great pioneers complement one another.

I.

Paine's ideal may be expressed best in the word: *republicanism;* Gandhi's ideal in the word: *Satyagraha.*

Republicanism is defined by Paine in these terms: "A republic is a sovereignty of justice in contradistinction to a sovereignty of will" ("Dissertation on Government," 1786), and such a definition is further explained by his words: "In America the law is king." This suggests the interesting speculation that republicanism is essentially Buddhism applied to the State. The law and justice are the foundations of Buddha's conception of the universe; and those two impersonal principles were opposed by Gautama to personal will and autocratic kingship which for ages before had ruled over humanity. To transform the king-autocrat into the law of the State, and personal will (in man and in the national consciousness) into the impersonal sense of justice, this is to transform man-that-was into man-to-be, to change the dreary past into the glorious future. Gautama expounded the universal principle; Thomas Paine applied it to the constitution of the human state, made thus to reflect the harmony and impersonality of the cosmos.

To law and justice, Gandhi adds love and compassion. The cosmos with him becomes conditioned by and revolving around the human heart. Here we see the influence of Krishnaism and Christianity. The human heart, center of the human individual, is essentially truth and love. The motion towards that truth and the radiation of that love constitute Satyagraha, variously defined by Gandhi as "truth-force," "soul-force," "love-force," "holding on to truth." Satyagraha is both a search, a devoted realization, and an unshakable faith. It is a soul-discipline, the discipline of the true spiritual life. Satyagraha does not belong to the State, but to the individual. Gandhi says, "My patriotism is subservient to my religion," and also, "I am trying to introduce religion into politics." By religion he does not mean what Westerners are used to conceive as such; but really the leading of the spiritual life. Always his thought is a thought of individual discipline,* whereas Paine's thought is one of collective discipline.

In that the two leaders are perfect symbols of their respective hemispheres. For, despite the current opinion to the contrary India has always laid the emphasis on

*Is this wholly true? Is not Gandhi uniquely great in combining both the individual and society in his discipline?—Editor.

the individual soul, whereas Europe always worked in term of group, of collectivity, of interhuman relationship. This is patent in the realm of politics, of philosophy, and perhaps above all in the sphere of music—as it could be demonstrated easily if the limitation of space did not forbid.

Beyond those ideals of republicanism and Satyagraha is to be found a spiritual energy which manifests almost identically in Paine and Gandhi, however much superficial differences may be stressed. And there an interesting parallel may be drawn. Paine was originally a Quaker, and the energy back of his ideal manifested as the intense belief in an inner revelation, i. e., in the possibility and necessity of a direct contact between the individual and God. Also, as a Quaker, he opposed in principle violence and war, unless it became unmistakably a war for justice and universal harmony.

Gandhi also believes, as he writes, "that God reveals himself daily to every human being," but that we shut our ears to the "still small voice"; he finds, however, the main source of his energy and emotional activity in the old Jainist ideal of *Ahimsa* (non-violence, non-killing). He wrote this very year: "Satyagraha is search for truth; and God is truth. *Ahimsa* or non-violence is the light that reveals that truth to me. Swaraj (i. e., national freedom) for me is part of that truth."

Gandhi was born in a Jain family and it is interesting to note that a Hindu of the same name represented Jainism to the Chicago World Parliament Religions in 1893.

Writes H. P. Blavatsky ("Isis Unveiled," II, 323):

"We must admit that in all probability the Jainas are the only true descendants of the primitive owners of old India, dispossessed by those conquering and mysterious hordes of white-skinned Brahmanas, who in the twilight of history we see appearing at the first as wanderers in the valleys of Jumna and Ganges," and elsewhere: "They constitute a large religious body closely resembling Buddhism, but who preceded it by long centuries. They claim that Gautama, the Buddha, was a disciple of one of their Saints."

She refers to them as an "extremely mystic sect." This, when properly understood and substantiated by a study of the Jainist doctrines, throws an interesting light upon Gandhi's feelings and teachings.

It is the same way in which Paine always manifested a great deal of the Quaker spirit, in spite of the fact that he enlisted in the republican army and fought, Gandhi reveals unmistakably his Jainist origin, and in him can be found something of the life's ideal of the Jain—a sectarian who "sacrifices one-half of his lifetime in brushing away from his path the helpless, crawling insects, rather than recklessly deprive the smallest of life." (Isis, II, 279.)

Jainism being in a way a pre-Buddhistic Buddhism, the mother-religion of Buddhism, Gandhi by uniting in himself the Jainist tradition of *Ahimsa* and the Vaishnavite and Christian ideals of devotion to truth and love, synthetizes all the Eastern efforts and teachings concerning the regeneration of man as an individual. He stands as the symbol of India, the motherland of the Aryan races, and when he condemns Western civilization it is a mother condemning her child that went astray and sold his soul for money and lust.

Gandhi's conception of non-violence, like Jesus's practice of the same ideal while chasing the merchants from the Temple, is a heroic and active one. Let us quote a few words of his from Romain Rolland's book:

"Non-violence does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. . . . Abstinence is forgiveness only when there is power to punish, it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. . . . I would risk violence a thousand times rather than emasculation of the race. . . . Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence I advise violence. I cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing. But to him who has not this courage I advise that of killing and being killed rather than that of shamefully fleeing from danger. For he who runs away commits mental violence, he runs away because he has not the courage to be killed while he kills."

Side by side with such an attitude, let us reveal the attitude of Paine, "the Knight of Democracy," as he has been called:

"'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light. Not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder, but if a thief breaks into my house, burns and destroys my property, and kills or threatens to kill me, or those that are in it, and to *'bind me in all cases whatsoever'* to his absolute will, am I to suffer it? . . . . Let them call me rebel, and welcome, I feel no concern from it; but I should suffer the misery of devils were I to make a whore of my soul by swearing allegiance to one whose character is that of a sottish, stupid, stubborn, worthless, brutish man,"

And also: "A person, to use a trite phrase, must be a Whig or a Tory in a lump. His feelings, as a man, may be wounded; his charity, as a Christian, may be moved, but his *political principles* must go through all the cases on one side or the other." ("The Crisis," I and II.)

Are the two attitudes opposite? We believe that they are rather *complementary*. Paine, when properly understood, takes an attitude which can be considered as a reflection of the ideal expressed by Krishna in the "Bhagavad Gita." For does not Krishna exhort his disciple, Arjuna, to "stand up and fight" in the Great War which is a war of principles? Gandhi himself would denounce inaction. Only for him the sole weapon to be used is the fire of love. "The hardest fiber must melt in the fire of love. If it does not melt it is because the fire is not strong enough." Krishna incites Arjuna to use his bow; for, does he say, it is an illusion to believe that one kills a man. Man is immortal. The self alone is. To kill in the Holy War of the Spirit is but to dissipate shadows. Murder is not in the action; it resides in the thought, in the anger, in the hatred. Fight for and as the self, passionless, unmoved, unconcerned with the result of the act. Kill or be killed. It matters not, as long as your own duty (Dhazma) is performed *impersonally* in the spirit of higher renunciation, the renunciation of whatsoever fruit may be generated by the action.

II.

Let us further study the parallelism existing between the works and activities of the two pioneers. The problem in both cases was and is, to attain independence from the British yoke.[1*] But the two situations are opposite in the sense that *India is in a way the Mother of the Euroean races, whereas the American colonists were the direct descendants from those European races.*

This, when properly understood, explains philosophically why Gandhi's and Paine's attitudes are some-

(1)*One might indicate here that the "Lexington Massacre" so called (April 19, 1775) and the "Amritsar Massacre" (April 13, 1919) had practically the same meaning in the chain of events in America and India. It is after Lexington that Paine began to rouse in the colonists the spirit of Independence and wrote "Common Sense" whose influence cannot be overestimated; after Amritsar that Ghandi found co-operation with England impossible. At exactly 144 years or interval (a biblical number indeed!) history repeats itself. The Declaration was proclaimed July 4th, 1776. The Non-Cooperation program was launched by Gandhi August 1, 1920.

what opposite. European civilization is, from Gandhi's point of view, a perverted child of the old Aryan civilization. Therefore, India must and will love her perverted child and will do all to melt her obdurateness in the fire of mother-love, in the fire of truth reinstated and redynamized by sacrifice and consciously accepted suffering.

America, on the contrary, was, *and is still today,* in the position of a youth subjected to the tyranny of family traditions, of debased religious authority, rebelling against this perverted European past and longing to live his own free life in his new world. Europe wanted to "bind" the youth "in all cases whatsoever," following her sinister conception of paternal autocracy. The youth declared himself free and fought, when freedom was denied, *a defensive war.* Thus Paine, the rebel, urges the youth to fight for the sake of future humanity, so that his children can breathe as free men in an air unsullied by the poison of European autocracy. The future had to be saved from the degenerate past.

Alas! Paine's work seems at time almost a failure. Americans being unable as individuals to become independent from the European autocratic *attitude of life* (however free politically) the new world is giving refuge to those very seeds of materialism and dogmatism which made of twenty centuries of European civilization a hell. And today a Paine should again appear to free America from European *mental* traditions, as 150 years ago from political autocracy. The war would be also a defensive war, as European culture and materialism are invading more than ever our land. Thoughts may be thrown overboard as much as cases of tea, and New York would be a good place for the operation. Men lacking the courage to do it, nature may perform.

However that may be, the situation being grasped in such a philosophical manner, India-Europe, Europe-America (and then the return America-India) we realize better the deeper basis of Gandhi's policy. India will not fight England (as a symbol of European despotism and selfishness), but by suffering, non-resistance and sacrifice will try to open her eyes, and if that is impossible, then the violence used by England will come back at England and destruction will ensue (the most probable occurrence).

The Swaraj party and its leaders do not realize the deeper phase of the problem, the true relation of India to England and Europe. They want to fight the West with western weapons. They do not fully see that the aim is not primarily national political independence, but *spiritual, cultural* independence from the European civilization and its perversion, that therefore to fight England with European political methods and weapons (as Ireland partly did) will merely mean the entrenchment in India of European perversions, the pollution of the Indian mind. Gandhi wants India to come back to the purity of her ancient youth, and being a Jain, this is characteristic. He wants her to forget all about the European nightmare; to re-become what she was, what she spiritually and archetypally is: *Satya,* i. e., spiritual truth, innocence and love. Satyagraha is the realization of this eternal reality of India's Dharma, of India's essential nature. It is therefore not a political aim, but a spiritual, a religious one. The great war today is the war against the European disease. Gandhi wages it by aspiring to what India was before the disease struck the Western World, by trying so to purify India from within that all thoughts of disease be blotted out of the race, that spiritual health alone may shine as truth and love. India can do it, because India has been truth once, and is still spiritually inclined.

America could only follow that method by looking back to the Amer-Indians whom she has killed wantonly, the civilization of which she knows nothing about. Only in Mexico and South America is it possible to adopt that course with success. And so Mexico's problem is quite analogical to India's. But the United States has only a very small remnant of Amer-Indian culture, on which it is impossible to base a national regeneration. Thus war becomes a moral necessity, in the realm of mind. A higher independence from European civilization must be reached, a new spiritual bell must ring for true freedom. Thomas Paine, as a symbol, is therefore as much alive, as much a leader today, as 150 years ago. And his message is America's! Yet Americans must find themselves as individuals if the new independence is to be a true one. And therefore Gandhi's appeal to individual purification and regeneration becomes of primary importance to us all.

What C. R. Das, leader of the Swaraj party, failed to see, Washington also failed to recognize years ago. Gandhi is, and probably will further be, betrayed by his associates, just as Paine was betrayed by Washington, who once said, "Under God, the American people owe their liberty to Thomas Paine more than to any other man." Washington thought of the United States as of one Western nation among other Western nations. So did Mr. Das probably conceive of India, in terms of political nationalism. Both Paine and Gandhi saw much beyond that. For the former, Republicanism was an international ideal, and he dreamt of a federation of European republics, and he worked both in England and France to see this dream come true. For the latter, Swaraj for India is but an aspect of the greater spiritual world-renascence, heralding the coming of a new age: the age of conscious innocence, *Satya Yuga;* and if he does not stress this universal aspect of the struggle, it is, as he said, because of "modesty" and because he realizes that the first condition for such a universal regeneration is to have first India free and regenerated, as Paine knew that only after the triumph of liberty and democracy in America could Europe be redeemed. Europe was not redeemed then because America failed to embody in her action the principle of world-democracy. Europe was not redeemed after the Great War, partly because America, excited by a narrow nationalism and an unfortunately too-crushing victory, failed to back up Wilson in his efforts toward political world-regeneration, partly also because the Russian people, unable to bear superhuman sufferings, followed Lenin instead of Tolstoy, as the Catholic Church had followed Ignatius Loyola rather than Francis of Assisi.

III

In the course of their efforts toward national liberation, both Paine and Gandhi came across similar problems. The most important one was the problem of "slavery" in America, of "untouchability" in India.

As soon as Paine, after reaching America in 1773, became the editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine,* he began to fight against slavery and wrote an anti-slavery essay which was followed thirty-five days later by the formation of the first American Antislavery Society (April 12, 1775), just a week before the Lexington battle. In the first draft of the Declaration of Independence a clause was written condemning slavery. The

clause was violently attacked both by Southerners and Northerners, and Jefferson was obliged to withdraw it. Thus the Civil War became unavoidable, as well as the plutocratic perversion of Americanism which followed after it.

Gandhi, with more success, is waging the same battle against untouchability. At the Belgian Congress he said:

> Hindus cannot claim to take Swaraj seriously till they have restored the liberty of the suppressed classes. They have sunk with the latter's suppression. Historians tell us that the Aryan invaders treated the original inhabitants of Hindustan precisely as the English invaders treat us, if not worse. If so, our helotry is a just retribution for our having created an untouchable class. I would warn the Hindu brethren against the tendency which one sees now-a-days of exploiting the suppressed classes for a political end. . . . The purification required is not of untouchables but of the so-called superior castes.

The "suppressed classes" of America are constituted not only by the Negroes but also by the Amer-Indians who were the original inhabitants of the continent, just as the Pariahs were mostly the first settlers in India. The Aryan's degeneracy ought to be a good warning to the European invaders here, if we trust Gandhi's historical interpretation of such a decadence!

The Indian leader is also turning his efforts to the liberation of women. "Woman is not the weaker sex," he writes, "but the better half of humanity, the nobler of the two. She is the embodiment of sacrifice, silent suffering, humility, faith and knowledge." Paine, faithful to the Quaker tradition admitting women as religious preachers, began to fight for women's freedom, for their right to public esteem and recognition. Like Gandhi, though in a different set of circumstances, Paine stood as a civilizer, and as his biographer, M. C. Conway, writes (I, p. 47):

> Thus the *Pennsylvania Magazine* in the time that Paine edited it, was a seed-bag from which this sower scattered the seeds of great reforms ripening with the progress of civilization. Through the more popular press he sowed also. Events selected his seeds of American independence, of republican equality, freedom from royal, ecclesiastical and hereditary privilege, for a swifter and more imposing harvest; but the whole circle of human ideas and principles was recognized by this lone wayfaring man. The first to urge extension of the principle of independence to the enslaved Negro; the first to arraign monarchy and to point out the danger of its survival in the Presidency; the first to propose articles of a more thorough nationality to the new-born States; the first to advocate international arbitration; the first to expose the absurdity and criminality of duelling; the first to suggest rational ideas of marriage and divorce; the first to plead for the animals, the first to advocate national and international copyright; the first to demand justice for woman; what brilliants would our modern reformers have contributed to a coronet for that man's brow, had he not presently worshipped the God of his fathers after the way that theologians called heresy!

Truly, Paine was a civilizer, the Father of western democracy; he did for American civilization what Gandhi is now doing for Indian civilization of the future. American civilization has been until now a relative failure because it has been untrue to the principles set down by Paine, because it has let economic forces overwhelm and pervert civic life.

IV

We wonder what the future of India will be: whether the East will repeat the mistakes of the West, whether India will fail to live the "spiritual life" which Gandhi exemplifies, and, haunted by the craving for Swaraj at all cost, lose sight of the Gospel of *Satyagraha* and forget the great message of *Ahimsa*.

We trust, however, that the inherent spirituality of India will reassert itself, that powerful voices will ring to keep the race true to her ancestral spirit. We trust that thus a current of spirituality will strike our American heart and arouse in it the realization of our Western duty. The first re-assertion of this American duty should manifest in the nation-wide rehabilitation of the one who did more than any man to lift America from the European nightmare into the glory of a new Western civilization. If, as Walt Whitman says, America is synonymous with democracy, then Paine, Father of Democracy, is truly *the* Father of America.

The American and Indian civilizations of the next centuries will be great in proportion as they both are true to the doctrines expounded and courageously lived respectively by Paine and Gandhi.

D. Rudhyar.

The Savage in Politics

or

Why Citizens Neglect the Polls

I

A distinguished member of the New York State Legislature was invited by the dean of the X College at Cornell University to give a talk to a group of students on the subject, "The Workings of the State Government." In the course of the speaker's address the large audience was told of an incident in the classroom where volunteers were called upon to explain the main divisions of the State's political machinery. A young lady arose and recited: "There are three divisions, namely: The civilized, the half-civilized, and the savage." A hearty laughter from the attentive men and women followed; and the lecturer was apparently convinced that he made clear his idea, illustrating the obvious fact that the bulk of our nation know very little of their own goverment. And the lecture itself was brought to its happy ending with a sincere appeal that the young men and women present take a more active part in the political affairs of their State.

II

Then the registration and election returns began to pour in. The reports read that only sixty-five per cent. of our citizens have availed themselves of their inalienable right, more than a third neglecting the great weapon won by the indefatigable efforts of their great ancestors. As a typical example, one item reads, that half of the citizens of voting age in the industrialized capital of the "sunny South" did not bother with registration, and thereby lost the opportunity to have a voice in the management of their own government, which has a grip on their life, liberty and happiness whether they vote or not. And the questions naturally arose: What is the matter with politics? More so, what is the matter with our liberty-loving citizens who voluntarily refuse to take part in their own government, which, legally, can be nothing else but a government of the people? Is it true, then, that the division referred to above has a basis in our life? and if so,

must we acknowledge that the alert citizen has not been able to locate the "civilized" and "half-civilized" in our political spheres, where the ravages of the powerful savages are fully and freely manifested? What attraction or glory is there in politics when scandals similar to those of the transfer of alien property and patents in time of war; or the abuses of a Mr. Forbes in the Veterans' Bureau; or the ill disposition of public oil reserves; or little incidents like the one of the Aluminum Company—*all involving political stars*—forever go unpunished? . . . Does it not logically infer that between indifference and corruption (or selfishness at the public expense) millions of our fellow-citizens prefer the former? What other explanation can there be for the repeated story which tells us that a vast portion of our social organism is deliberately refusing to interest itself with politics? The Orient might explain such a phenomenon, were it to appear there, by alluding to the mysticism which is the very gift of the Eastern Civilization, inbred in the individuals. But far different is the case with the Occident, which greets its infants with the gospel of the "duty of the citizens." Why should Mr. and Mrs. Voter rise to the call of "duty," when they see the head of State, the Chief Executive, fall asleep on duty and let his people freeze to death in the hour of crisis, himself retiring, apparently comfortably and with no laden conscience! . . .

III

There are many friends of progress who believe, think and insist that the indifferent citizen gets what is coming to him, and deserves what he gets; that the first step toward a healthier America is the staging of a grand funeral spectacle, with the two aged political lions as the inanimate leading characters; that the chronic unresponsiveness of our legislators to the needs of their constitutional employers can be amended by technical readjustments. Very likely, there is some truth in all of the immediately preceding assertions. But the indifference of the heedless cannot be fully combated as long as the savages supercede the will and becloud the very existence of the few civilized and semi-civilized members of our State and Federal law-making and law-enforcing institutions. A feast celebrating the improbable death of the two old epicurean parties is a mere betrayal of poor knowledge of the business of this world, knowing the blazing law that so long as the *economic factors* (monopoly of opportunities and unlimited wealth gathered by foul means and withheld from use) which give birth to the old type parties remain, the very same parties will remain. The name and form of organization might undergo some changes; but mere phraseology and change of attire can not alter the real issue. Lastly, mechanical improvement, no matter how desirable, can not alter the very nature of the egotistic legislators who think more of personal gain than of the oath of service they have taken.

Is constitutional democracy a failure? Fortunately, for the future of our civilization, our form of government offers the means which, when fearlessly and persistently employed, will win for us all those fronts which neither wrath, nor animosity, nor propaganda, nor animal struggle could accomplish. It is the right to know the facts that gives the building hand the necessary lift. And our Democracy is dedicated to protect this right. And the thing that *will arouse* the indifferent, and indolent, and cynic is the amplitude of *information, and more true information.* And the sooner they become informed and saturated with the facts of their own lives as individuals, as citizens and as victims, enabling them to trace independently the causes of their miseries to the doors of the true transgressors, the sooner will they become the satellites of Light and free themselves of the chains of indifference and, instead of staying away, will hasten with lifted heads to the polls where their intelligent Will *will* shake the very foundations upon which the corruption of the old parties thrive, and which give suck to the numerous spiders within the walls of our legislatures.

Information (and not propaganda and discredited promises) *will restore the lustre to our flag and its noble inheritance.*

And the moral lesson we learn from the deserted polls is—that not an increase in the number of voting Democrats, or Republicans, or Socialists will rekindle the dimmed traditions of Washington's integrity and bravery; Jefferson's democracy; Lincoln's sense of justice, or Roosevelt's spirit of public service; but an alert citizenship that can be swayed neither by the elocutionists in evening dress nor by the propagandists from the soapboxes; that is doing its own fearless thinking, and is determined to have its trustworthy Constitution literally and reverently upheld and enforced. Such a citizenship can easily complete the construction of the commonwealth, the foundation of which was laid by the great army of brave sons and daughters of the Great American Revolution who began their direct march on that memorable day that fired the first shot on the fields of Lexington, April 19th, 1775. In the hands of such an intelligent citizenship, even in a money-mad and fashion-fed world, Liberty, Justice, and Fraternity can become a happy reality.

D. JOBMAN.

AMERICA'S WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The hills of all the world their witness bear
To One Supreme, Invisible, Divine,
The Essence of our being, and its Cause.
In far cathedral, synogogue and shrine
The tablets of the ages bid us pause,
Beholding how the burdened race may wear
The future's glory in its hour of prayer.

So let us build this temple of our land,
As though the nation's valor, swift and warm,
The nation's soul, like Heaven-leaping fire,
Had towered into great, enduring form,
Each noble window and new-risen spire
Through burning centuries of faith to stand,
A symboled promise and a pure command.

Thus shall America defeat the sword,
With taller Truth than any Gothic door;
An abbey where the people's soul shall speak
Its mighty Legend for the future's lore;
A temple where the warring shall be meek
And sundered nations find their true accord.
This is our country's Dream. Perfect it, Lord.

The Cathedral Age. *Angela Morgan.*

The Study Table

THE FUTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES

There has been recently a wholesome awakening of interest regarding the Philippines. It ought to grow until those islands are an absorbing topic of consideration. We should decide at once and for all what we will do with them; to continue to play with the question is dangerous. The uncertainty of their status must end; temporizing, saying one thing and doing another, must cease. If we are going to stay there, we owe it to ourselves, to American interests, to the Filipinos, to Philippine interests, to so declare. Many books have been written about the Philippines since 1898—books good, bad and indifferent. The book before us[1] is one of the most important, best-written, most interesting, that have appeared. It is written by a man who has lived twenty years in the islands and is exceptionally informed. He went out there as Secretary to the Taft Commission; he later served as judge in Philippine courts; after retiring from the bench, he remained in Manila, in legal practice. He is not in favor of withdrawal. He makes the best presentation of his side of the argument that has yet been made—probably the best that will be made. It is honest and appears to proceed from the heart and from conviction. It is true that our author restates a lot of stuff that we had hoped, for the credit of our intelligence, had been forever laid upon the shelf. We hear again of the many languages, the diversity of race, the injustice of leaving the Igorot to the tender mercies of the Cristiano, of the impossibility of the Cristiano controlling the Moro without our aid, of the Japanese menace. These have been urged again and again, but they are not sound reasons for our retaining control. Each of these is a subject that lends itself to interesting statements and discussion, but the time for urging them as valid reasons against granting Philippine independence has gone by. It is true that our author, in his chapter, *The Wrecking of a Government,* loses his judicial quality and shows a political partisanship of the bitterest. But we shall leave the discussion of those chapters to Democrats or Wilsonians, as we are neither one or the other. It is also true that Judge Williams frankly presents and urges the business opportunity and advantage that lie for the United States in the retention of the Philippines. Here he is on safe ground. *This* is the only field on which the battle is to be fought. All other excuses are pretexts. The question comes to this: "Shall we let the Philippines go, or shall we hold them because it is profitable to us?" In discussing the question we should no longer mask our action with hypocritical and philanthropic cant. We ought not to pretend that we are more concerned in the welfare of the Filipinos than in our own opportunity. Judge Williams, like the rest of those now most energetic against Philippine independence, does so. It weakens his argument and mars the value of his book, which has unusual interest and importance.

It would be well if everyone who reads Williams' book could also read a volume lately printed in Manila, due to two well-known Filipinos.[2] It is not so fine a piece of writing as his book. Nor is it a connected discussion. It is a collection of eight addresses delivered at various times and places, and two articles. The authors are Manuel L. Quezon and Camilo Osias. Mr. Quezon is well known in this country, having been resident commissioner at Washington; he is now President of the Philippine Senate and has long been a political leader. Mr. Osias was, in part, educated in this country; he is the author of favorably known books, has been assistant director of education, and is now president of the *National University* at Manila. To Judge Williams, Governor-General Wood is an admirable constructive genius, who is happily undoing the mischief done by Governor-General Harrison, the man who "wrecked" the government which the Taft Commission and W. Cameron Forbes had so admirably constructed. There is no uncertainty as to why General Wood was sent to the Philippines. The Wood-Forbes mission was the first step in undoing Harrison's work. The second was the appointment of Leonard Wood to the Governor-Generalship. The Filipinos must be put back to where they were in the good old days. It was, however, a calamity to send a military man there just now. If a military man was necessary, it was a mistake to send General Wood. Wood is generally supposed to have made a great success in his work in Cuba. The success may be questioned, but even if it be admitted a quarter of a century has passed since and that period has not increased Wood's fitness. Is there a letter, written by Woodrow Wilson in explanation of his not sending General Wood to Europe in the war? One naturally thinks of that letter in the present Philippine crisis. It *sounded* like a petty partisan excuse, but seems justified by Wood's experience in the islands. He has proved to be the bull in the china shop. He has hostilized all the actual leaders; he has needlessly opposed Filipino plans and aspirations; he has made a ridiculous use of the veto power; he has come into open and square conflict with the Legislature. Even if he were right he has outlived his usefulness as Governor-General of the Philippines and should have been relieved long ago. He seems to have deliberately injected disturbances to divide and hostilize Filipino leaders. It may even be questioned whether he has not encouraged trouble in Moro-land, to demonstrate the lack of friendliness between Cristianos and Moros. Our authors do not say these things, but the doubt lies in my own mind. They *do* claim that the Governor-General has usurped powers that are not his; that in him the executive has trespassed on the legislative; that he has gone out of his way to interfere with Filipino ideals and aspirations; that he has construed laws to his liking instead of administering them as they are.

Another good book, to read in connection with Judge Williams', is "The Philippine Revolution,"[3] by Teodoro M. Kalaw. Williams gives a brief discussion of Aguinaldo's aid to the American forces, the capture of Manila, the ensuing difficulties between our allies and ourselves, the war between the United States and the Philippine Republic—ending in the disappearance of the latter. His presentation is such as is natural and agreeable to Americans and in harmony with the purpose of his book. He points out the weak points in the Filipino side of the question and emphasizes the squabbles and differences between their leaders. Of course, a critic with an end to gain might write a book

1. *The United States and the Philippines.* Daniel R. Williams. Garden City and New York: 1925. Doubleday, Page & Co. 16° pp. xiii, 335.

2. *Governor-General Wood and the Filipino Cause.* Manuel L. Quezon and Camila Osias. Manila: 1925. Manila Book Co. 16° pp. ix, 228.

3. *The Philippine Revolution.* Teodoro M. Kalaw. Manila: 1925. Manila Book Co. 16° pp. xiii, 355.

about our own American Revolution that would be entertaining reading. Kalaw's book is the best in its field. He is already known to American readers by his *The Case for the Filipinos*. He has written more that is of permanent value regarding modern political and historical matters in the Philippines than any other writer, but most of it is in Spanish. For the preparation of the book before us, he has utilized a greater mass of original documents and primary source material than any one preceding him. The first edition of the book was in Spanish. This English edition is a translation of it, but contains much new material. The chapters have all been somewhat lengthened and that on the famous secret politico-revolutionary society, the *Katipunan*, is three times its original bulk. The book covers the period from 1892 (when the *Liga Filipina* was founded and Rizal was seeking reforms under Spanish control) until 1902 (when the forces of the Philippine Republic finally laid down their arms and the authority of the United States was generally recognized.) It is an interesting and graphic account of a struggle which was no less just because it failed. The story is told with unusual fairness and control. There are few omissions and little extenuation of faults. There *are* some things unmentioned that Williams emphasizes. To introduce them would involve argument and debate, which are avoided to a remarkable degree throughout the discussion. The Revolution has its weak points and its stains. The deaths of Andres Bonifacio and Antonio Luna are among them. Kalaw neither conceals nor condones these; nor does he allow them to discredit the movement for which, on the whole, he has a fervent and genuine respect and loyalty. The Philippine Revolution is a movement of far greater importance than is commonly realized; to Americans, it is an important chapter in our history. It cannot be neglected; it must be given consideration. It is fortunate that we now have so good a record of it as Kalaw's. The book should be in every public library in the United States.

A little book of plays written by the professor of dramatic art in the University of the Philippines for the needs of the dramatic club in that institution has come to hand.[4] The author did not at first intend to print these, but has done so "hoping that they will prelude that development of a Filipino literature in English for which no one has more confidence or enthusiasm than the author himself. There are four plays—two of a single act, two two-act farces. The plays do not lack dramatic merit, but their chief interest is in displaying the strange, transitional stage in which the Filipinos at present find themselves. There has been a terrific wrench in the very framework of society and no real adjustment has yet been reached. The titles of the plays are *The Real Leader, The Ghost, Sons for Sale, Daughters for Sale*. They picture student life, hint at the curiously forced uplift movements that are in progress and illustrate the way in which old customs are adjusting themselves to new conditions. They may be, as the author hopes, a prelude to a Filipino literature in English; they are surely an interesting and amusing cross-section of the Filipino life of today.

FREDERICK STARR.

4. *Daughters for Sale and Other Plays*. Carlos P. Romulo. Manila: 1924. Manila Book Co. 16° pp. v, 132.

Correspondence

"Young China"

Editor of UNITY:

Lately I have seen in the Chinese Newspapers, accounts of the massacre of young students which took place at Shanghai, not on one day merely, but again and again. These have brought back to my memory the burning records of Amritsar and Jallianwalla Bagh. The thing that burns most of all, however, is the fact that British officers, were in charge of those who fired these bullets into the backs of a fleeing crowd of unarmed students, and that almost certainly Punjabi military police were used by British officers in perpetrating this deed of shame. What can Young China think, either of my own country, or of India, when such things are done with impunity?

Last year, I was in the midst of Young China and was listening again and again to its cry, as it pleaded for patience and forbearance, asking that time should be given for setting her house in order, for getting rid of the new opium addiction which was bringing China to ruin, and for ending the rivalries of the military leaders. They told me that Young China was solid in its determination not to take bribes, not to use opium and not to have to do with the scandalous military brigands. But the hindrances offered to reforms by the foreign powers were driving Young China to despair. At every turn, their hands were tied by the antiquated treaties which had been imposed upon China in her weakness. These are now being ruthlessly exacted to the full, just when Young China is trying to rise out of this weakness. At every port China was being throttled; all the most favorable positions in the ports were held by the foreign garrisons, under foreign jurisdiction. Every foreigner was able to appeal to his own Consul against any criminal action brought by Chinese and thus escape justice. The extra-territorial rights were creating havoc everywhere in the system of Chinese administration and setting up an *"imperium in imperio."*

Lately I have been told in a letter by one of the greatest Englishmen resident in China, that the Chinese young men have been swayed in different directions by different voices. First came the voice from Japan, which seemed to tell Young China to increase her military strength, if she wanted to get free from foreign jurisdiction. But the truth is, that China by her conservative instinct, is non-militarist and non-aggressive. Even if she were to try to undertake a great military part in history, she would not succeed. Therefore, Young China has not been moved finally by this voice from Japan.

Then came Bertrand Russell, with his doctrine of fearless rationalism, and his revolutionary disregard for all ancient religious actions. Young China listened to him with the deepest respect, and a section of the people were ready to follow him. But his doctrine did not harmonize with the conservative instinct of the Chinese people; and their piety towards family ancestors, which took the form of religion in their minds, held them back from accepting his teaching. Therefore, though an important section of the Chinese listened eagerly to Bertrand Russell, the great bulk of the students were not seriously moved by his appeal.

After that came the poet from India, Rabindranath Tagore. His appeal was a spiritual one and he placed the power of the spirit far above the power of any material force, whether in the East or in the West. He declared, with the tone of an ancient "rishi," or prophet, that the path of unrighteousness was the path of national suicide. Any nation with increasing prosperity might follow immediately the search for material wealth and power; yet in the long run such power perished at the root and came to destruction.

A second voice from India has appealed to Young China, the voice of Mahatma Gandhi. Young China realizes that Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore tell

really the same story and utter the same truth, namely that the spirit is the conqueror over the body. But up to the present, Young China has not been able to listen clearly, either to the voice of the poet of India, or to Mahatma Gandhi himself.

One more voice has come to Young China with ever louder accent. It comes across the great steppes of Siberia, from Russia. At present, the voice is one which is regarded with suspicion, because Russia for a whole century past had been the terrible foe of China, from whom there had been no escape. Yet the new voice of Russia, the Russia of the revolution of 1917, declares emphatically that the days of imperialism are over, and that every territory which was taken from China wrongfully by Imperial Russia under the Czars will be faithfully handed back to China by Russia under the Revolution. Little by little this voice is finding its way into the hearts of the Young Chinese. The suspicion, that I have mentioned, is still exceedingly strong, and I found, when I was in that country last year, that very few are ready to accept the Russian promises. The majority still feared everything that came from a Russian source. Yet today many are beginning to listen to this voice from Russia as a new Gospel.

I have tried, in this manner, to outline with rapid strokes the mind of Young China in its present confusion. The saddest thing of all to me is this, that the voice of India, which I believe has the true message to give, the same message which Buddha gave to China of old—is too weak to make itself effectively heard and clearly understood.

C. F. ANDREWS

India.

The Teaching of History

Editor of UNITY:

A recent discussion which occurred at a gathering of history teachers at Lyons in France, offers some points of interest. All seemed to agree that perversions of history for national or "patriotic" reasons was not justifiable. But one group would cut short or omit the descriptions of wars and campaigns, confining history to the realities of the rise of man in spite of the operations of war. A second group defended the teaching of history at its worst as a means of promoting sentiment of peace.

In the first instance, M. Clemendot, a teacher of Melisey, urged that children are too young to understand realities in history. Their attention is arrested by trivial anecdotes or by the false glory with which history invests egotists like Napoleon. Pupils in the lower schools are taught a history "alleged, arranged and then falsified." He quotes from Lavisse that "against the work for peace the whole past is in league, the whole of history." "The history of civilization is bound up in the history of wars. One cannot teach one without the other. Not to hate, it is necessary to forget." "If I demand the suppression of the teaching of history it is to the end that the children we are rearing may form a generation that shall realize the hope of Michelet who will make of France a nation which shall give peace to the world."

M. Péron, a teacher in Lyons, took a different view. "To ignore history is to create a myth. . . . It may be that history is a source of prejudices, but to suppress the teaching of it would give birth to prejudices still more dangerous." "The matter is certainly delicate but our object should be the search of truth, an effort towards impartiality and tolerance." "To teach history should be to teach peace, to stamp in the child-soul the hatred of war and sympathy for the peoples to whom we are bound by common efforts and by common miseries." "Let us have confidence to develop in the soul of our nation, through its history and above its history the great dream of fraternity which is our common ideal."

The Association agreed to devote "all its efforts to replace in all countries the rationalistic teaching of history by instruction which shall be human and fraternal, inspired by the solidarity of all peoples." They were to "prepare a better world in which in a reconciled humanity will reign more of justice, more of security and more of brotherhood."

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Leland Stanford University.

A Biography of Jesus

Editor of UNITY:

In your recent editorial, "The Other Side of Jesus," you express the thought that no writer "shows us the political and economic side of Jesus." I am wondering whether you have read "Jesus the Man," by Victor E. Harlow.* It seems to me it will give you, at least in part, what you desire, for he portrays distinctively the *human* side of Jesus. Mr. Harlow is a Unitarian. I met him in his office a year ago. Write The Harlow Pub. Co., Oklahoma City, Okla.

I enjoy UNITY immensely. Get more out of it for my line of work than perhaps any other periodical.

MARTIN SINDELL.

Tacoma, Washington.

*This was recently reviewed in UNITY.—Editor.

The Other Side of Jesus

Editor of UNITY:

I have read the article by F. C. Doan on "The Other Side of Jesus" in your Jan. 11th number. When he regrets "that no writer has as yet thought to show us the political and economic side of the Nazarene's career in Palestine."

I would call his attention to the fact that Bouck White did this very thing in a masterly way in "The Call of the Carpenter." Why ignore White and quote him at the same time? Why refuse honor where honor is due?

If Mr. Doan has not read "The Call of the Carpenter," it will do his heart good to do so, for he will find his wish that "the Other Side of Jesus" he presented has been realized, and also that he and White have minds that run in the same channel.

I appreciate your paper and consider it the *one* truly religious paper of today.

H. C. LEDYARD.

Rosebury, Oregon.

Mr. Burbank and Religion

Editor of UNITY:

Several years ago a friend introduced us to UNITY and we have renewed ever since. I think I can say safely that I have approved and been in sympathy with everything you have written up to this last issue. But now I just must protest. In "Jottings" you speak of Burbank. You say that his "declaration of infidelity was not impressive." No, of course no declaration of anybody's religious or un-religious belief can be impressive. It is merely what one wants to believe or must believe. But you say he has no authority in this field! I think Mr. Burbank's statement was that he did not know if there is a God and he did not know whether there is an eternal life after death. Does anyone? It seems to me that the authority on these questions of the least, most illiterate person in the world is as good as that of the most profound theologian. I wish you had not added a word to the usual hue and cry of the ministers when anyone expresses an "honest doubt."

EDITH F. HICKMAN.

Columbia, Mo.

[This point is well taken and well stated. In our reference to Mr. Burbank, we had in mind not so much what he said as the use the papers made of what he said. These papers featured his religious opinions as though they were a matter of unique and momentous importance, which they were not. Our point was, and still is, that preeminent authority in one field involves no necessary authority in any other field, and that when a physicist or botanist or big business man talks about religion, it should be given no more importance than it is worth.—Editor.]

From a Friend in England

Editor of UNITY:

. . . You need not wonder that UNITY has followed us across the sea. I don't see how anybody who has ever taken it regularly could get on without it. . . .

Up to this time we have rather been off the beaten track. . . . Now, in two or three months of London, we expect to feel the pulse of things. We hope here to find people who do not bow down before Walter Hines Page, or regard the U. S. A. as a nation of renegades, also Britishers who do not believe imperialism dominated by an Anglo-American alliance to be the supreme end of progress!

X. Y. Z.

London, England.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

A Memorial

A portrait bust in marble of the late Mrs. Jessie Shears Carnovale, who after Jeukin Lloyd Jones was President of the Unity Publishing Company, has been on display at the Chicago Woman's Club for some weeks. Sig. Luigi Carnovale will have the bust placed in the Luigi Carnovale College at Stilo, Calabria, southern Italy, which college he built as a memorial to his wife. Paolo S. Abbate of New York is the sculptor of the portrait.

Peace on the Pacific Conference

The Australian Labor Party in a letter dated January 1st, 1926, has sent out a Call for the countries bordering on the Pacific to hold a Pan-Pacific Conference at Honolulu about the *third week in November, 1926.*

D. L. McNamara is Secretary of the National Executive of the Labor Party. Communications should be sent to him, care TRADES HALL, MELBOURNE, AUSTRIALIA.

The Object of the proposed Conference is "to bring together representatives of Labor and other organizations from countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean with a view of arriving at a better understanding in respect to the future peace of the Pacific. . . . In addition to the question of Peace and War, any business may be introduced, provided it be of joint inter-Pacific importance and if notified in time for its inclusion in the Agenda of the Conference."

Business for the Agenda should reach Mr. McNamara by July 1st, 1926.

"The Basis of representation by the Conference is not fixed or arbitrary, but it is expected that the delegates from organizations participating will be credentialed by the Chief Executive of their organizations, and be financed by their respective organizations. . . . A small contribution will be expected from each organization represented to cover the cost of meeting place, preparing and printing reports, etc."

With the Call, the following Declaration is sent, as indicating the spirit and motive behind the Call. This Declaration was adopted by the National Conference of the Australian Labor Party in 1926. It is named "An Anti-War Declaration" and reads as follows:

"The Australian Labor Party, convinced that with another great war the horrors and terrors of the last will be eclipsed, affirms it to be the duty of the Australian Labor Movement to declare that, under no circumstance should the workers take up arms in the interest of international rivalries, but, instead, will join with the workers of all countries in striving whole-heartedly for peace by international action."

The Call for the Conference at Honolulu states that it comes as the result of repeated demands for the holding of such a Conference.

Mr. McNamara writes that "invitations have been forwarded to Trade Unions and Labor organizations in all countries bordering on the Pacific, and we are hoping for a very representative Conference. About 100 invitations have been forwarded to Trades Unions organizations in the United States. Trusting that your organization will give early consideration to this proposal for such a Conference and that you will advise me as early as possible, etc."

International Fellowship of Reconciliation

Norway—An Arbitration Treaty covering every occasion of conflict has been concluded with Sweden, and is in process of negotiation with Denmark. The Government has proposed a great reduction in Budget for the Army and Navy on account of the depressed economic situation.

* * *

Roumania—A correspondent writes: "The verdict in the great trial of Tartar-Bunar has just been given: 200 are acquitted and 98 condemned to various penalties, from hard labor for life to a year or two of imprisonment. This trial is the epilogue to the cruel repression by the Roumanian authorities of several villages in the South of Bessarabia, where 'unknown' persons had instigated a revolt. Bessarabia is treated more cruelly than an African colony, and incredible tortures are inflicted on innocent people. In nearly all the 'offices' of Police and 'Public Safety' the means of extorting forced 'confessions' are the same as those employed by the 'Christian' inquisitors in the Middle Ages. At Galatz, for instance, workers with 'suspect' sympathies were so cruelly tortured that they declared a hunger-strike. This method is frequently used to compel the authorities to bring the prisoners to trial and so to make definite accusations, showing the cause of arrest. There are cases of hunger-strike for 20, 30 and 40 days. The present government is so odious and violent that it can only maintain itself in power by arbitrary measures, censorship and a state of siege in the frontier regions, and by strict limitation of liberty of speech and public action. It continually seeks for diversions, such as anti-Semitism.

"On December 10 at Cluj, the courageous publicist, C. I. Costa-Foru, secretary of the Roumanian section of the League of the Rights of Man (an old man of 70) was cruelly beaten and wounded by fifteen nationalist youths armed with sticks and cudgels. He has had the courage to denounce abroad the tortures practiced by the 'Public Safety' on innocent workers. The police have not succeeded in 'discovering' the fifteen authors of this horrible attack! The social atmosphere is full of injustice, but cowardice is almost universal. Public opinion is a fiction and the worst political and social horrors have no echo but the feeble voice of a few progressive papers. There is no possibility of joining together for the purpose of making a free, united protest."

* * *

Russia—A Treaty has been signed between Turkey and Russia, by which

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each promises to preserve neutrality if the other should be attacked. The official Turkish newspaper observes that the Treaty is the "answer" of Soviet Russia and Turkey to the Locarno Pact, but the Russian Embassy in London denied that it is directed agaist any Power, and points out that Nitvinoff, Assistant Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, has stated that the Soviet Government is ready to make a similar agreement with Great Britain or any other Power.

* * *

Minorities. Educational facilities are being organized for the national minorities; study of the native languages, German, Greek, Bulgarian, Tartar, etc., will be compulsory in the training of teachers for minority districts, and it is proposed to issue a periodical illustrating life and customs of the nationalities. The Publishing House of the National Minorities publishes books in thirty-seven languages.

The New Conscription Law provides strict conditions by which religious C.Os. may be allowed alternative service, if members by birth and education of sects which already forbade military service before 1917. A Russian C.O. says, "Many of us think that it is better not to have any law for Conscientious Objectors."

* * *

Switzerland — The Military Budget for 1926 has been fixed at 87 million Swiss Francs, in spite of Socialist opposition. This sum is one million less than the Budget originally proposed, which aroused protests from both right and left wing parties; it is, however, three million francs in excess of last year's Budget. The military tendency of the Government has provoked various counter-movements: a Referendum on radical disarmament such as the Danish Government proposed, is contemplated in some quarters, chiefly as a means of popular education, for a favorable vote is probably impossible at present.

An "Association of the Anti-Militarist Clergy" has been formed; it makes a definite stand for the abolition of the army, and in support of conscientious objection, of which there have been ten cases during the last few weeks.

CHILDREN OF REVOLUTION

Story of John Reed Children's Colony on the Volga, which is as well a story of the whole great structure of Russia.

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Dr. Scudder, Wellesley, says "Delightful book"; Dr. Thorp, Palo Alto, "I certainly take off my hat to her as a writer"; Ruth Lind, Puyallup, "Mamma told me to tell you that she hasn't time to eat her supper because she has to read that book to us."

This book, 100 pages, printed Dec. 1925 (3000 copies) has gone, Jan. 15, to a second printing. Price, 50 cents. Send to Strong—508 Garfield St.—Seattle.

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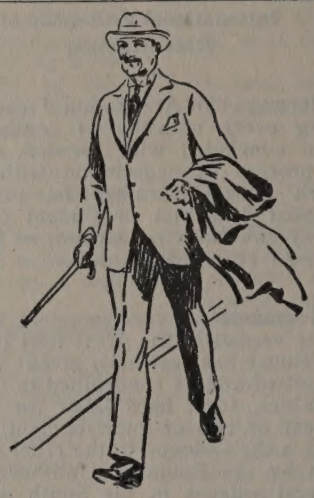

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